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rain) and no theoretical interest in them, as far as I could ascertain. A few people are afraid of thunder, because they think the cloud may fall down on them, but many others are unafraid. The rainbow is noted, but there is no explanation for it.

The theory of birth has been given in another context, and it is only necessary to briefly recapitulate here. It is known that pregnancy follows intercourse, and it is thought that the embryo is formed from the blood, and the cessation of the menses is recognized as the beginning of pregnancy. Death, unless it has some obvious cause, such as falling from a tree or drowning, or unless it happens in old age, is thought to be due to black magic, or more literally "poisonous" magic.

For digestion there is a native word, *jäsikoramin*, which might be literally translated "food finishes going down." It is thought that the food remains in the stomach for a day and then comes out as faeces. Although it is known that food is necessary for strength, there is no notion of the interaction of food and blood. Terms "hot" and "cold" are used to describe the conditions of the stomach, and bananas and pawpaws are thought to make the stomach cold, while taro makes it hot.

MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE

Illness may be due to magic or more natural causes, and medical practice consists mostly of the use of certain leaves and roots and magic. Magical medical practice is considered under the heading of Magic. Here only the medical art which has no magic is described. The knowledge of medical practice is fairly widespread. Many people know remedies for one or two ills, but there are a few men and women who are specially skilled in native medicine and know more than the others. A native "doctor" is paid for his services, provided his patient gets better.

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and is divided into hamlets. The village of Lesu, where the writer lived, has 222 inhabitants living in fifteen hamlets. Each hamlet has its own cemetery and every native wants to be buried in the cemetery of the hamlet in which he was born.

Only the death of a very old person is considered normal. When a native who is not old dies (*i.e.*, one still able to work), his death is usually attributed to black magic. The rites are similar for all deaths, but at the death of an old person they are the most elaborate. The number of people at a funeral, the size of the feast, the elaborateness of the rites, are all graduated nicely to the age of the dead person.[2] If an infant is born dead there are no rites at all. It is buried immediately without feast or wailing. The funeral of a child takes place on the day of the death and is attended only by the people of the neighbouring hamlets. The funeral of a mature person, but not a very old one, will be held the day after death and will be a village affair, with some members of neighbouring villages there. The funeral of a very old person is a large inter-village affair, many people coming from quite distant settlements, and the body will be kept for two or three days before burial. The pattern at death is the same as it is during life. It is the old men and women who are the most important people and who are the leaders of the community.

While alive each person has a double called a *gas* which lives on the ground belonging to his totemic clan.[3] This *gas* is not seen by its living double, although there are rare occasions mentioned in folk tales when a man has met his *gas*. When a person dies his *gas* dies too. At the time of death there issues from the dying man, with his last breath, his *tinuato* or ghost, which has no connection with the *gas*. The *tinuato* dwells in the body while the native is alive and comes out only at his death, while the *gas* always dwells outside on the clan land and dies when the person dies. The *tinuato* or ghost continues to live, but its place of existence and manner of living are very vague. It belongs to the realm of the supernatural, about which no questions are asked. For a month or so after death

[2] Cf. Camilla H. Wedgwood, Death and Social Status in Melanesia, *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LVII.

[3] *Vide* the writer's Report on Research in New Ireland, *Oceania*, I, 1931, 357.

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EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES

121 Emotional attitudes are by their nature less easy to observe than rites. But one can, first, observe expressions of emotion, or lack of such expression; secondly, talk over the matter with the participants in the rites; and thirdly, listen to their own discussions. Also, because these are on the whole an extravert type of people, showing their emotions plainly, one can get more from observation than one could from a more reserved people. But even then the subject is a complicated one. When is an emotion real and when is it only a ritual expression? It may be both. How much of the emotion is spontaneous and how much is induced by the ritual? Motives may be very complex. Real grief may be mixed with the desire to do the proper thing and show off one's wealth at the mortuary rites of a loved relative. A sophisticated and introspective person of our own society is not always able to distinguish all the motives underlying his own actions. It is not to be expected that an ethnologist can answer all these questions for the native, but he may set down a series of careful observations.

761 152 [775] During the period of illness immediately preceding death and during the burial rites, the survivors, as far as could be observed, have no fear of any ghost or other supernatural element. Such emotions as fear, awe, etc., sometimes associated with death, appear to be completely lacking. It must be remembered in this connection that these people have no belief in life after death. For two days I sat with a group of women about the bed of Pulong, a sick woman who was expected to die. Their conversation never turned to any of the supernatural aspects of death, but was always about some very concrete matter such as a medicine for the sick woman. Neither their conversation nor attitude indicated any other feeling except affectionate concern and sorrow. The parents, children and spouse show these feelings particularly. Ongas, the husband of Pulong, the woman just mentioned, sat with bent head in front of the house and neither ate nor talked. There was no mistaking his real sorrow. The rest of the community seemed not to be affected by such deep emotions. The members of the neighbouring hamlets came and cooked in the compound of the sick person, but there was the usual

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chatter, the telling of jokes, and the rather casual happy atmosphere which always accompanies communal cooking.[13]

During the burial rites there is no evidence of fear. The dominant emotion is sorrow, felt in varying degrees by the survivors and expressed in wailing. The spouse and clan relatives seem to show a real personal grief based on love and affection for the dead person. But the way in which some of the other members of the community turn from dramatic wailing to joking conversation would indicate that their sorrow cannot be very deep. At one funeral a group of five or six men, not clan relatives, came out of the house where they had been loudly wailing over the corpse and almost immediately burst into boisterous laughter because a bamboo bench on which they had been sitting tilted slightly. There appeared to be no feeling that the laughter following the wailing was out of place. Frequently, conversation of the non-clan relatives immediately following their wailing would be light and amusing. As a rule this did not hold for the consort. He or she generally wailed continuously, stopping only for the necessary rest, without any light interludes. But there was the usual exception. One widow after a most prolonged and dramatic outburst of wailing, five minutes later turned to a few other women and made a joking remark, which had no connection with the death. There were no comments on this behaviour, but later she was an object of unfavourable gossip, because she resumed sexual relations with a second husband too soon after her first husband's death.

If the deceased is not old, *i.e.*, if he was an active member of the community at the time of his death, there is another element in the sorrow besides grief over the loss of a dear friend or relative.

[13] I was unable to get much information on the attitude of the dying person towards death. It so happened that in those cases where I was able to be present before the death occurred, the dying person was either unconscious, or too ill to talk, or to be bothered by an ethnologist's questions. However, as far as I could gather, there is a reluctance to die. This was seen quite clearly when a middle aged woman who had been ill and expected to die, recovered. Her happiness in her recovery, her renewed interest in life, showed that she was very glad to be still living. Natives in good health mention that they will die simply as a fact that is bound to occur some time. Frequently in working with informants on the subject of inheritance of property, they would say casually to illustrate a point, "When I die, this and this will be inherited by . . . etc."

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761 152 There is vexation caused by the loss of a worker. The annoyance over the economic loss is felt both by the clan relatives and by the rest of the community. A large amount of work is done communally and so the loss of a worker is of real consequence. The surviving clan relatives have one less person to assist them in the making of a *malaŋgon*, a ritual feast, or any other rite in which the members of the clan co-operate. The village as a whole also feels the loss of one person in their communal work, such as the preparations for the feasts at circumcision rites, and other rites in which all the members of the village co-operate. At the death of a young man, Wakatei, his mother's sister's son, Lungam, who was in charge of the rites, was in a really bad temper owing to the fact that the dead man was young and a good worker and the death was a real economic loss to himself. At Kawitti's death the same element of economic loss entered into the sorrow. She was a middle-aged woman and had always been zealous in contributing her share of taro, and industrious in preparing it for the village feasts. Many members of the community told me (spontaneously, without any questioning on my part) how sorry they were about Kawitti's death, because she was such a good worker. The realization of an economic loss is openly expressed, as was the case with Lungam, and also with the rest of the community. There is no need for any hypocrisy, such as, "we loved him for himself alone."

775 152 It is not until after the burial rites that the element of fear enters into the emotional attitude. There is now the fear of a ghost or *tinuato*, mentioned in the beginning of this paper. After the burial of the body, it is supposed to wander around near its former habitation and to make its presence known by a low whistle. The native is very much afraid of this ghost and gives as the reason that the ghost is untrue and unreal. It has no malignant qualities and the dread seems to be based purely on the fact that it is uncanny. But there are no rites to lay the ghost, nor any rites of which the function is to alleviate fear. The fact, however, that all the members of the extended family sleep in the one hamlet after the burial rites may tend to lessen the fear. If they are together, they will not be as fearful as if separated, but this does not keep them from being afraid at other times, nor does it lay the ghost. Several weeks